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869 to be able to do so; and the same story may be repeated several times
538 all over again on different occasions without the young people losing any interest in the matter.

The cry "*udôdit*" (a story) is heard very often when the young
869 people have placed themselves in a position for slumber, and the ex-
517 clamation "*udôditko*" (I have a story; literally: my story), emitted
538 by an uninvited story-teller, is usually sufficient to gain him the
[273] attention of all present. Consequently Isneg tales are mostly bedtime stories; nevertheless it also happens that they are recited, this time mostly by men, at the opening of a jar of *bâsi* (alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane), or rather during the absorption of its contents. On such occasions, whenever an old man begins to tell a story, the youngsters have no sooner got wind of the affair but they leave everything in order to come near and to listen all ears to these wonderful happenings of times gone by or of a world
[602] alien to their own. It may sometimes happen also that parents or
855] grandparents call their children or grandchildren together at the time of going to sleep in order to relate to them some traditional myth or legend: in this case, of course, the teaching should be called entirely formal.

869 How to look for omens and auguries and how to distinguish between
787 good and bad ones are both the subject of almost exclusively direct
[602 instruction. Parents and older brothers and sisters are the accepted
855] purveyors of this knowledge, which to the Isneg is absolutely indispensable if he wants to live in peace and beyond the power of malevolent imps and spirits.

E. MORAL EDUCATION

577 When reading books of travel, especially old ones, written by men
121 who spent a few days at the home of some primitive people, one usually meets with the statement that the latter seem to have no concept of truth and honesty, and one almost always meets with several concrete instances, which apparently prove the truth of that assertion. Not to go too far out of my way, I shall cite as an example a book that has to do almost immediately with the Philippine Islands. We read in the account of Magellan's travels written by Pigafetta that on a certain day, during his famous voyage which led to the discovery of our archipelago, the expedition landed at a place among a group of islands, the inhabitants of which boarded the vessels, laid hands on whatever took their fancy and ran away to hide among the bushes;

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in the power of my drugs instead of following exclusively his own superstitions. At least I inferred from his conduct that this was his state of mind; and I believe I was not far from the truth. Similar cases are frequent also among the Isneg: doctors and sanitary inspectors know all too well about them.

"Be generous toward your friends. A miser is abhorred among us. If you bring down a wild boar or deer in the forest, share your good luck with your relatives and friends. These things were not worked for by you; fate brought them into your hands. If you have tobacco, share it with your friends; be a generous companion to every Isneg. When you offer a sacrifice be not stingy with the *bási*, and give everybody who happens to come along his share of rice and vianda. Would you be happy if somebody prevented you from participating in a feast? Would you like to be excluded at the distribution of food and drink? Never cause your companions to say that you *umaxáwa* (or *iaxáwa*, "to put away dainties when a visitor is seen approaching the house, lest one should have to let him have a share in them") or *gumisdâ* (to close the doors at the appearance of a stranger while eating some delicious food, for the same reason): these are very opprobrious terms. With reference to the Ibanag, remember that those in authority have come here to help us, and more especially the white man: he has unbounded riches, and he has come here for the evident purpose of spending it upon us. Even though some of us are considered rich among ourselves, they are poor when compared with him. Let him pay double the price for whatever he needs. Is he not rich beyond anything you can imagine? Do not exclude him from your feasts, if he wants to participate in them, but expect him to be generous toward you in all transactions and business affairs."

Kaddío, who is considered the richest man in Apayaw, has come to my house more than once in order to sell articles which he could not get rid of elsewhere, and he usually charged us twice the regular price. When we told him that he is a rich man, which by the way he likes to hear very much, and that he at least should remember how we feed many of his people without remuneration, when we told him that he should help us in order to be merciful to the poor Isneg instead of taking advantage of our good will, he invariably retorted by saying that we have money galore, and what should we do with it except distribute it to the Isneg. Is this not the reason why we live among them? And *Kaddío* is not the only Isneg who entertains such an opinion.

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up a good many friendships, and it is the starting point of not a few quarrels among them. Voluntary talebearing, by which I mean here reporting to the interested person the gossip that somebody has spread about him, is, as far as I can judge about the matter, rather rare, at least among men.

Drunkenness is a vice that is mostly indulged in only at the time of some *sáy-ám* or other sacrifice, and this mostly by old men. Comparing their use of intoxicating drinks with what I have seen in civilized countries, I should say that the Isneg is a temperate man. Nevertheless theory is stricter than practice, except in the case of youth.

Three points are still to be considered now, namely: chastity, honesty and truthfulness.

And first as to chastity and the virtues related to it. Complete nudity is habitual among youngsters under six years of age; the little coat usually worn even by small boys, is not sufficiently long to cover them decently. Such nakedness is not considered shameful as long as the children are small; nevertheless there is some ground for concluding that it may have an effect upon sex behavior. Indeed small children are very after tickled (*magkuríra-, kurirkán*) in order to cause them to laugh, and this tickling is very commonly practised on or near the genitals, not only by the parents, but also by young boys and girls; especially in the case of small boys, the principal use of their penis seems to be that of being fingered by every passer-by.

As soon as the child is able to lisp a few words, the pronunciation by the child of any obscene term that finds its way into the child's vocabulary is greeted with laughter; and if later on foul language is heard to proceed from the small boy's mouth, he is applauded for his cleverness instead of being chastised for his forwardness. Little girls are usually brought up in a less dirty atmosphere, as the mother takes care of them almost exclusively as soon as they are able to walk; but little or no separation of the sexes at night is insisted upon during the first years of the little Isneg's life.

Everything considered, the sight of nudity in both sexes, touching of one another's genitals without reproof, the early excitation of the boys' genitals through indecent handling by older children and adults, the use of dirty speech without the least restraint and almost with encouragement, all these combined can do nothing else but detract from the efficiency of subsequent teaching on sex morality. The existence of the term *kassár* seems to support my inference; *kassár*

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585 allowed to mount the ladder, either by herself or on the back of the *mañlakkát*.

Once inside she has to go immediately toward the place where a *balandán* blanket, the property of the boy's parents, has been spread on the floor, and to sit down upon it. The *balandán* consists of three rectangular pieces of cloth, sewn together at the sides, not at the edges; the two sutures are provided with large ornamental stitches of purple thread. The bride, however, is not to stay there very long, as she has barely squatted down on the *balandán* when her mother pulls it away from under her, and takes possession of the same. Here also the *mañlakkát* dons her customary attire, — jacket, headband and the rest, — as her rôle is finished by this time.

585 574 264 The parents of the boy usually prepare a banquet for all present; chickens or pigs and dogs are slaughtered, according to the social standing of the owners of the house, but, as previously noted, no shaman performs the *maxanito*. Should the *bálat* be killed on this occasion, which is not absolutely necessary, as the boy's parents may prefer to keep it alive, neither bride nor groom, nor any of the girl's relatives, is allowed to partake of it. If any of them should infringe this taboo and eat the meat of the *bálat* pig, his or her children, whether born already or to be born in the future, would die a certain death. The same prohibition obtains with reference to the cakes. It is certainly a great sacrifice for an Isneg not to partake of a meal of pork and rice, and only the fear of some dire punishment such as that of death for his children could effectively check his appetite in that direction. But in nearly all cases the boy's parents slaughter some other animal, which all present are allowed to partake. It goes without saying that a copious flow of *bási* keeps the whole company in merriment, otherwise you could not very well call it a marriage feast.

585 583 431 The principal ceremony, however, consists in the distribution of gifts, of which there are two classes:

1. The *ákit* (from which the whole marriage ceremony takes its name, *mañakit:* to perform a marriage ceremony): these are gifts of beads, clothes, etc., offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders to the women of the girl's party in exchange for a certain amount of cakes, or some part of the *bálat*, in case the latter is slaughtered.

2. The *tugnúl:* gifts of spears, headaxes, *xúsi* jars, etc., also offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders, but this time to the men of the girl's party, again in exchange for cakes or portions of the *bálat*.

low box about three feet square, filled with earth. In its center are set on end three long stones in a triangular position, which hold the clay cooking pot over the fire beneath. Fire is obtained by striking flint with steel and kindling tinder with the spark; or by rubbing two bamboo sticks together. There are also a round-bottomed iron frying pan and various paddles and ladles. Above the stove is a drying rack, and against the end wall are secured shelves which hold the old Chinese plates and other articles and materials. This end of the room is used for the kitchen, sometimes as the dining room, and as a general work shop. Woven sleeping mats are used, and there are chests for the securing of precious articles. Light from the fire furnishes illumination at night.

There should also be several lovely old ancestral Chinese jars, *gasi*, probably of the Ming dynasty period. In these is kept the *basi*, a pleasant wine made from the juice of the sugar cane. These ancient Chinese jars are much prized by the people. They have a typical shape, and range in size from one to three feet in height. Some of them have dragons and other figures embossed on them. Others have pictures of Chinese scenes and conventional patterns: this being especially true of the white jars with blue designs. They are glazed; some in lovely shapes of brown, yellow and blue. The people have quite a lore about them. There are a number of different varieties and different qualities in each variety. The *dordori* stands first; next is the *garadogod*. Some of the others are the *dinalasan*, *banaag*, *kindi-ingan*, *binilibil*, *boddi* and *garang*. Much of the wealth of the Apayaos is held in these jars, together with the beads.